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The chairman of the Tacoma, Washington, Board of Education presents his views on the problems to be faced by the city of Tacoma in the area of de facto segregation. Tacoma's population from 1950 to 1960 increased 3%. Virtually the entire increase was nonwhite. It is held that the magnitude of the explosive growth of the Negro population is certain to make the problems of intergroup relations even more difficult in the coming years. In 1960 the city was 5.6% Negro. Eleven percent of the children under five years old were Negro. Given no legal restraint in housing discrimination, a far greater portion of Tacoma may soon be turned into a huge island, Negro in population. A recent survey showed concrete evidence of de facto segregation in the schools. Specific suggestions to be carried out during the following school year and general policy statements are stated.

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There is, as some say, no virtue per se in boycotts. Yet, only the self-blinded fail to see the meaning in this protest and the necessity to act upon it.

Those involved in this boycott, I am sure, seek no rights or privileges for Negroes alone. They seek only those that belong to all Chicago citizens. A wise board of education would encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all.

Demonstrations and school boycotts are a direct reaction to our failure and laggardness to meet the issue squarely. We, as members, have it in our power to stop demonstrations any time by satisfying the demands of justice.

The qualities which are exhibited in the protests and boycotts are qualities that deserve other outlets. Patience, forbearance, faith in human decency, reliance upon intellectual and moral power—these are qualities needed in our school system. I hope this board has the wisdom to draw strength from them.

TACOMA FACES SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Fred T. Haley

The author, chairman of the Tacoma, Washington, board of education, is president of the firm of Brown & Haley. This article is based on Mr. Haley's address, November 5, 1963, to the Tacoma Association of Classroom Teachers.

In Tacoma last October, after months of study by an eminently numbered sub-committee which recommended a housing ordinance, our City Council passed a measure to exact criminal penalties for those who discriminated on the basis of color, race, religion, in the sale (lease or rental) of housing. Presumably that measure will soon be brought to referendum of the voters—forced to a referendum by the real estate people, the apartment house owners, the home builders. (One wonders if any of them have ever heard of the Black Muslim movement they invite.) Thus, we may face here in Tacoma, in our own dear communtiy, the chilling moment of choice which will finally bring Tacoma's citizenry to its ego-splitting decision. Put to the test, we will say to our Negro fellow citizens: "The Constitution of the United States is a sham. The Emancipation Proclamation was a fraud. You, American-

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born though you may be—victim also in your country's wars—are a second class citizen."

The Tacoma housing ordinance is an emergency measure, whether or not the City Council understands it as such. It is indubitably an emergency which exists here in Tacoma (and in our sister city of Seattle as they go through the agony), and in all the great cities of America, caught alike in a great convulsive moment in the history of western man.

In January 1863, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

In August 1963, another supreme moment in the history of the nation and the Negro was reached.

I participated in that magnificently stirring event, the Freedom March—and I may say, parenthetically, that though I've been in the business of civil rights—actively—for many years, I shared an experience in August, 1963, with over 200,000 of my fellow citizens, black and white, which insures that I will never be quite the same again. I want very much to talk sense with you—teachers—whom above all I honor. But, whether I talk sense or not is, I think, less important than that I address myself vitally to the civil rights issue confronting us all, that you may know my views and feel free to acclaim or condemn them.

The stakes are large in this great game, I think, and the loss is by continuing to squander recklessly an ideological capital bequeathed us by the framers of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. For us, concerned as we are with the education of our young, it is an especial burden, because public education here in Tacoma as in all the urban centers of the land, finds itself (seemingly all at once) deeply engrossed in the great domestic problem of our time.

But in a speech I made at the Bremerton Education Week dinner in Bremerton two years ago tomorrow, I said:

> I have been a school director for almost seven years. If I remain a school director for another seven, I will have become an authority on the subject of integration, northern style. To this problem I have been addressing myself and in the doing insist that the Tacoma school district and the officials of all Tacoma and Pierce County join me in focusing our attention on the problem at a time when we may still have the opportunity to manage its solution.

I come therefore to talk with you in an especial capacity today, that of chairman of the Tacoma board of education, and as I put our educational program on the scales I am sufficiently mindful, I hope, of my public trust and its concomitant responsibility to you, our teaching staff. The Negro has said he wants an end not only to de jure segregated education of the South, but de facto segregation in education as we practice it in the North. As we practice it not only in Philadelphia where there are 74 elementary schools that are more than 90% Negro. Not only in Baltimore, Detroit, St. Louis, Chicago and a score of other northern cities which has neglected the Declaration of Independence for so many years as to have created an almost insoluble educational dilemma. Not only all these far-away, out-of-sight, out-of-mind places, but in Tacoma, Washington, where we, too, practice de facto segregation and stand unimaginatively by as it continues its relentless spread outward from the central city core.

From the U.S. Bureau of the Census, we learn this of Tacoma's recent population trends:

White

1930	104,562	
1940	107,611	(up 2.92%
1950	139,246	(up 29.4%)
1960	140,106	(up .62%)

Non-white

1930	2,255		2.1%
1940	1,797	(down 20.3%)	1,6%
1950	4,427	(up 146.35%)	3.2%
1960	7,873	(up 77.8%)	5.6%

Tacoma's population from 1950 to 1960 increased 3%. Virtually the en-

tire increase was in non-whites, which in this case means Negroes.

What of the population by color in terms of school or nearly school-age children? The figures look like this:

	White	Non-white	% Non-white
Under 5	13,890	1,538	11.0%
5 to 9	13,646	1,030	7.5%
10 to 14	12,884	791	6.5%
15 to 19	9,773	456	5.0%

The magnitude of the explosive growth of the Negro population is bound to make the problems of intergroup relations even more difficult in the coming years. That is, the complex problems of adjustment created by the great streams of Negro out-migrants from the South to the North and West, involving transition from a rural-folk culture to urbanism as a way of life, will be aggravated by the exceedingly rapid expansion of the Negro population. This explosive growth will continue to intensify the already acute problems facing both the communities of destination and the Negro in-migrant in respect to housing, employment, prejudice and discriminatory practices.

What is the situation as respects ethnic distribution throughout the school community? A study of the census tracts of 1960 shows the sort of pattern one might expect. What does it show?

The census study of 1960 reveals that of Tacoma's 6,000 Negroes, 3,741 or 62% live in what I call the McCarver-Stanley complex, roughly from downtown to State Street (near the old ball park), from Division Avene on the west to the bluff overlooking Center Street on the east.

Of the remaining Negroes, some 2,000 live south of this area to the city limits, approximately 1,100 in the Salishan area, and the remainder not too unevenly distributed in the remaining census tracts. Of the remainder, some 37 Negroes, or .5%, live in the north end and along the Narrows to and including Fircrest. In 1960 there were none in Fircrest, none in the Geiger district, three in the Wilson High School area, 11 in the entire area bounded by Division Avenue on the South, Hudson Avenue on the west, the Puget Sound gulch on the north.

Do these facts indicate, as has been suggested, that systematic segregation of Negroes does not seem evident in the city of Tacoma and its housing patterns? I suggest that rather than taking comfort in the fact that Negro dispersion is taking place in the southern parts of the city, the thoughtful observer—one who has the lesson of scores of eastern cities before him—will be alerted to the probability that, given no legal restraint in housing discrimination, a far greater portion of Tacoma may soon be turned into a huge island, Negro in population, and gray in physical plant. Such an eventuality (I suggest) will be made nearly probable by the almost certain defeat of our housing referendum. Meanwhile, we may expect every effort to be exerted by our real estate interests to maintain the west end from Fircrest to the Narrows Heights as a place for white citizenry—undefiled—pure—islands of "status" in a city already gravely threatened by the contemporary phenomenon of the flight to the suburbs. And finally, as our last dosage of statistics, let us look at the schools. Last year, resulting from a request made of us by the Washington State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission of Civil Rights, an ethnic count was made of the Tacoma system. Here is what it showed: It showed, for instance, that of our senior high schools only Stadium had any appreciable percentage of Negro students at 9% (February 25, 1963). It showed similarly small amounts for our junior high schools, with the exception of Gault which indicated 10% Negro and McCarver at 61%. Of our elementary schools (Hawthorne, which showed de facto segregation of 67%, has now been closed), we now have four with appreciable amounts of Negro students. Bryant at 14.5%, Lister at 19%, Central at 41%, and two schools, McCarver Elementary and Stanley, which are clearly in the category of de facto segregated schools at 89% and 53.5% respectively. What else does the count show? Well, it shows

that many of our elementary schools are purely or nearly purely white.

Unfortunately, this study is unique. Regrettably, it marked the first time that an ethnic study has been made of the Tacoma public schools.

We must candidly acknowledge that in Tacoma we, too, have de facto segregation by any reasonable definition. Secondly, we must bring ourselves to face the fact that we have arrived at the point of no return in respect to it. Consider the implication for Tacoma's schools of these words by the United States Supreme Court, with respect to the purposes of the school:

> It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment.
>
> To separate [children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a "feeling" of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.

De facto segregation is unarguably a by-product of housing discrimination, greatly regretted, unwilled, unintended, by anybody in authority in a northern school community. Nonetheless, it has, since the Allen and Raubinger decisions in New York and New Jersey respectively, and more especially, since the California Supreme Court decision, come into equation with the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing de jure segregation in the South.

The "neighborhood" school concept, when in conflict with the palpable presence of de facto segregation, becomes a "sacred cow," as school boards in San Francisco and Chicago have come painfully to understand. (In my opinion, it is a "sacred cow" in any case, whose chief value now is as a stumbling block for throwing in the path of incipient change.)

The Negro child has no "sacred" obligation to go to his "sacred" neighborhood school when all reason and understanding argue that it's to his disadvantage to remain there. It's good "upsmanship" to insist that "we must not visit the sins of society upon the schools," but what in heaven have we in education been doing if not attempting heroically to backstop the errors and delinquencies of the home and community in bringing up the child? How unutterably ridiculous of the ostrich to stick his head in the sand in the face of danger, but how touchingly human!

I think that in Tacoma we must make our leadership creative as well as good by helping to generate the change we lead. Here, I think, we have a unique opportunity to apply the findings of the social scientists and the empiric fruits of intergroup efforts over the last 25 years. Our solution in Tacoma lies not in negatively patterning our efforts on the almost hopeless attention exerted elsewhere toward correcting a social situation so deteriorated as to be well-nigh impossible. *But to remain educators, essentially, and not reformers, we must look for philosophically affirmative principles we can apply.*

Our task is not simply to redress injustice by multiplying essentially negative compensatory programs, helpful though they may be, but to enunciate and carry out a system-wide intergroup education policy and program comprehensive in scope, creative in spirit, and cooperative in execution. It must be blessed by the school board and win support in the community at large.

One of the things we learn from behavioral scientists is that the most effective way to bring about social change is not to increase the pressure for it but to weaken the resistance against it.

This we do by recognizing that the children in our all-white schools are being deprived of one of the greatest of educational opportunities, and one available at their very elbow—that of learning from their most tender years how one lives in a world grown suddenly a multi-racial, multi-

cultural one. Indeed, were not 6% of Tacoma's school children Negro, we should seek to import that useful handful to help us bring the pressing realization of a world grown suddenly small (where the white is in the minority) to our young, before they grow up to face that shattering but palpable fact.

Someone has suggested, not entirely in whimsy, that the truly underprivileged in our society is the pampered, sheltered child growing up in the hideously unreal environment of ex-urbia. This may be, but what I mean to say in all seriousness is that both the white and Negro children in Tacoma's schools urgently need exposure to the give-and-take experience of growing up and learning together in a multi-racial setting. The elementary children at McCarver, now 90% Negro, are indeed suffering from educational discrimination. But, what must be realized is that the white children of Lowell — and Downing — and Jefferson — and Truman — are also segregated. The majority of Americans are prejudiced today because they have lived segregated lives, and even if the facts of the 20th century did not make color prejudice a too-hazardous luxury for our perilous time, it is a stupidity we ought to educate out of our society with all possible speed.

In August, 1963, after a summer of agonizing thought, I concluded that the time had come for action in Tacoma and I proposed a new policy, therefore, in a memorandum to the superintendent and my fellow board members. I entitled the memorandum "Multi-Racial Educational Opportunity Program. Tacoma Public Schools." In it I said that having attempted with care and thoughtfulness to understand what was taking place in other cities across the country, I was repeatedly and constantly struck by that our Tacoma conditions are such that a purely local solution was suggested.

I said that with some boldness and some foresight we could, if we acted now, manage a solution of far-reaching importance:

That in place of Seattle's problem at the secondary level (Garfield), we had benefitted in the happy accident of remodeling antiquated, obsolescent, lovable, old Stadium High School at the edge of nowhere, the western boundaries of which are pressing to the point where they may soon be Proctor Street, encompassing the larger part of what has traditionally been considered the "best" residential areas of Tacoma. Thus, ancient Stadium, while destined to receive a larger percentage of nonwhites since it is the high school nearest the central core, will also as an accident of location continue to encompass an ever-wider containment of the choicest part of the in-city residential section, thus guaranteeing a good racial balance numerically and an even better one culturally.

That indeed, the problem simply from the standpoint of numbers is a mild one in this city. But, in this fact, that Tacoma's Negro population has but recently begun to burgeon with the post-World War II flood of in-migration to the northern industrial centers, we have an unparalleled opportunity. That we have an opportunity, I think, denied all but a handful of communities in the nation.

That the time is ripe (and overripe) for us to enunciate and carry through a new and fundamental policy, positive in its value, vital in its timeliness, transcendent in its significance, valid in its social and psychological concepts.

That we should enunciate a new but simply stated policy as follows:

"It shall be the objective of the Tacoma public schools to afford every child the opportunity of learning in a multi-racial setting for a multi-racial world."

Thus, might the Tacoma public schools be the first school district in this nation to turn from the negative mission of correcting, as best one can, an almost impossible situation to the first American community adequately to equate the newly emerging America of post-1963 in terms of educational policy. This is the policy I continue to advocate.

At that time and for the purpose of considering its implementation, I suggested as some starting points to begin thinking and talking and planning:

1. That a plan be prepared which would provide for the orderly distribution throughout the system, at school opening, of at least 84 Stanley Negro children, selected with the best interests of the children and the parents in mind.

2. That as many children from the McCarver Elementary School as would eliminate de facto segregation there be likewise distributed throughout the system.

3. That the remaining Stanley and McCarver Elementary pupils in excess of reasonable racial balance be distributed no later than the opening of the 1964 school year in consonance with the newly enunciated multiracial policy.

4. That by school's opening in 1964 the McCarver Junior High School's excess Negro population be distributed throughout the system in accordance with policy.

I concluded by adding that I would make other suggestions which I hoped might help us in planning for implementing further the basic new policy proposed, with suggestions, perhaps, for alternative educational uses of the McCarver plant. But these, lacking urgency, I said, might be deferred for the time being.

Every possible variety of cure to the ills arising from race segregation in our schools has either been proposed or thought about, I suppose. But so far as I know, this is the first attempt officially to formulate an affirmative policy statement, which philosophy, valid from an educational point of view, might serve as a broad base on which an intergroup structure could be erected.

The younger the child, the riper the time for integration. At Stadium high school ,one observes the white and Negro children sitting in separate groups, not so much from fear or antagonism as from the careful, subconscious habits conforming to social dicta. At Bryant elementary, when you visit the lunch room, you find the Negro children sprinkled among the whites in complete abandon. Among high school students, there is awareness and prejudice, but the third-grade child is completely color blind. And as Robert Coles has so succinctly spelled out in his booklet, *The Desegregation of Southern Schools,* the little child is a much tougher-minded individual than he is sometimes given credit for. His little psyche is not quite so delicate as those who, using the neighborhood school concept as a rationale for doing nothing, would have us believe.

I thank you for the opportunity of discussing this timely subject with you, and I will close with a brief observation. Some weeks ago in a mixed group, the plaintive desire was expressed that something new be found to talk about besides the race issue. Perhaps we all at times feel this way. We are either bored or too greatly worried, or the problem has proven too complicated. We wish it would go away, and are tempted to sweep it under the rug, or by looking in the other direction, hope that when we return our gaze, it will have disappeared.

I say only this, and repeat the words of Garfield's high school principal, Frank Hanawalt, whom many of you know since he started as a Puyallup and Tacoma product. A few days ago, as we discussed Seattle's problems in comparison with our own, he said, "Fred, I understand that the rest of my life will be devoted to this problem just as yours is becoming so." Be sure, Tacoma teachers, that all the rest of your teaching careers will be increasingly touched and affected by this great conflict as it grows in intensity and more complicated, taxing you as individuals and as professionals, to the best expression of your humanitarian idealisms and your basic Americanism.